796 the Immaculate Conception is carried, in the procession, by four women picked by the priest. A food bazaar is held in the church yard, and the only ancient vestige that can be seen is the dance of the *negritos* (see p. 29), who generally precede the procession, but sometimes appear later in the day. This variation depends upon the priest. Frequently, the priest feels that the dance is too pagan and should not be performed in the solemn march.

771 **Superstitions and Beliefs.** There are certain superstitions and beliefs peculiar to the *Boruca* which may be associated with their former credence. When planting, the Indians water the newly sown seeds with water mixed with soil from the cemetery. This is supposed to keep the rats and other rodents from eating the seeds. All the Indians are afraid of thunder, believing that it is closely allied with bad luck. When it thunders in the hills on the east side of the Diquis or Térraba River, the *Boruca* say that a large snake is moving his tail. This snake used to live near El Sapo, in these hills, but when Monseñor Thiel, the former Archbishop of Costa Rica, passed through this region on one of his missionary trips, the snake moved, from fear of the Archbishop, to the headwaters of the Balsar River, west of the Diquis River. Here he is today, in a very steep and isolated spot where no one can find him.

When it thunders toward the south, they claim that the two pejibaye palms which grow on the summit of the Hill of the Sorcerer are angry. The wind that blows at night is a soul in pain. It is interesting that the Indians still tell, and actually believe, that without the help of the *sukia* [88a] there would not now be game around Boruca, and so, of course, all the people would have died. They say that eighteen years ago there was no game in the vicinity. A *sukia* from Talamanca was summoned. He went to a high mountain which lies south of the present village of Boruca. This mountain is called "El Cerro del Encanto," or "Hill of the Sorcerer." A great noise was heard. When he returned, there were many wild peccary in the neighborhood. They still recount and believe that "Tatica Cuazarn," the mythical sorcerer who lives on the Hill of the Sorcerer, used to visit Boruca

[88a] See below.

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
[231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[1/4] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[1/4] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
224 large animals, the heads are made of metal
411 (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
824 sible, they are made of *morkí*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is sup-
822 posedly less pulpy at that time. The method of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakánogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

1/4 [see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

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## The Stars [167]

(*Cabécar*)

*539
●82 When *sibu* began to make the sky his house, he needed a vine with which to tie it. There was a large serpent with great whiskers who dwelt below in the east where the sun rises.

*sibu* said to him, "I want a whisker to tie my house because there are no vines, and you have such lovely whiskers."

Now *sibu* was the first born so his mother's umbilical cord was long. His staff was made from this, and his mother kept it until he needed it. He sent five men to the snake for a whisker, giving his staff to one of them. He told all that when the sun was hot they should say to the serpent, "Uncle-by-marriage, how do you sleep?"

They did this and the snake answered that when his eyes were closed, he was awake, and when his eyes were opened, he slept. "But why look at me from so near?" he asked in anger.

One man approached even more closely and pulled out a whisker. It was so large that it took twenty-five men to roll it up and carry it to *sibu*. However, the man who pulled the whisker died. *sibu* did not like this and brought him back to life.

*sibu* used the whisker to tie his house in the fashion that modern houses are tied. The only difference was that each knot formed a star.

## The History of the Sun and the Moon

(*Cabécar*)

The sun and the moon were twins, children of *bruɑmia* and his wife, *sĩtɔmé*. The twins caused the wrath of *sibu* because they committed incest. As punishment, he took away the force of the moon who was the female, and, therefore, she has no warmth.

## The Creation of the Moon

(*Bribri*)

*sibu* ordered a woman to make a clay moon. She made it and hung it in the center of the sky. It gave so little light that it has to be used at night.

[167] A version of this is given by the writer in Spanish; *see* Stone, 1949a, pp. 20–21.

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## The Creation of the Moon

(*Cabécar*)

+ 539
●82

*sibu* thought of making a moon so he got *arragropa*, a woman, to make it. It wasn't bright enough so he had to get a man to make a disk.

## The Creation of the Sun

(*Bribri*)

*sibu* was annoyed that the moon did not brighten the world because he wanted to create man. He made a man and ordered him to make Sun. The man made a clay sun and hung it in the center of the sky. It brightened the world.

## (3) The Myth of the Sun [168]

(*Bribri*)

The sun is Christian and a man, a valiant man, which *sibu* left us to light up the world. And he also left the moon to help him. If *sibu* hadn't left the sun, the world would be dark and cold. This is why *sibu* gave the sun heat so it could heat up the earth.

The moon was a woman and has no heat. *sibu* left her to light up the night.

As there are both the sun and the moon we can exist and live well.

## The Reason for the Sun

(*Cabécar*)

Below us lies another world where the sun goes at night to light up. There is still another sun, however, which never moves but stays with *sibu* in heaven. When the world was first made there was no light. The devils were masters of the world, but *sibu* was the king. The chief of the devils said he would make light because he detested darkness. *sibu* did not approve, but the devil chief made a very small light because the devil's eyes were fire

[168] *See* Linguistic Texts: *diwa*.
[169] Today in Panama.
[170] This is a Spanish term applied to Indian graves. It also signifies buried treasure.
[171] The Cabécares claim that the *arbaLu* made the

[776]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.56(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

* 539 ●821 and they could catch light in their hands. It could not shine far, but it was light. *sibu* thought if he didn't do something, the devils would be more powerful than he. This is why he made the sun. He made it so everyone could see it, even the ants.

## The Sea

(*Bribri*)

* 539 *sibu* made the world for his house and the sky for the roof. In the center which was in Chiriqui [169] he put a tree. This became the center of the world. The tree grew so rapidly that *sibu* was alarmed it would pierce the roof. He sent for the *kambra*, the lords of the [776] *huacas*,[170] who inhabited the world before the sun dawned and who made the grinding stones one finds in ancient graves. The *kambra* were bad spirits and *sibu* thought he could get rid of them by chopping the tree and having it fall on top of them. He only cut the portion with leaves, however. When this fell, the *kambra* held on to it and it became the sea. As this happened in Chiriqui where there was salt, the sea is salty.

The *kambra* later left Chiriqui and made the savannas here.[171] They wanted to work and plant them, but they were bad people. *sibu* felt he could not let man have what they had. For this reason there are two kinds of all the plants the Bribri need. When the *kambra* planted agave with thorns, *sibu* planted it without thorns. Good *pejibaye* was due to *sibu;* the bad to the *kambra*. The same is true of cacao.

## The Sea [172]

(*Cabécar*)

In the beginning, there was only a large rock and no earth. *sibu* wanted earth so there could be people. He sent a beautiful woman named Sea to tell Thunder that he wanted to consult with him. Thunder refused to leave, so *sibu* continued to send Sea to persuade him. When Sea became pregnant, Thunder decided to go.

savannas and were the original occupants of the general region on the Pacific slope.

[172] This version was published by the writer in Honduras (*see* Stone, 1949a, p. 20) and was later reprinted in Costa Rica.

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*539 *sibu* lent him his staff for the trip, but Thunder would not accept it and said to Sea, "You brought this for me but don't leave it alone. Take care of it."

In the middle of the trip, Sea said to herself, "I don't understand why I can't leave this club alone. I shall try it and see what happens."

When she returned, the staff had disappeared. She looked everywhere but couldn't find it. While she was searching, a snake bit her and she died.

*sibu* arranged her in a burial package (*see* Death), but she began to swell. He put a frog on top to hold the package down. The frog grew hungry and jumped to catch an insect he saw passing. Sea popped into the air and became a tree. Her beautiful hair was changed into leaves and in them the parrot, the macaw, and all the birds made their nests.

The tree pushed and pushed upward piercing the sky which was *sibu*'s house. He became furious and said, "Listen! what a racket that tree makes forcing its way upward. It won't be long before it will break the air."

So *sibu* sent two birds, *Tijereta* and *Pajarillo de Agua*,[178] to grab the top of the tree and to make a large circle in space. When the two ends met, the tree fell and was converted into water. The nests of the parrot and the macaw were changed into turtles. The leaves became crabs. But the Cabécares know that the noise heard on the shore is the noise made by the wind when it blew through the leaves which were made from the hair of the beautiful woman, the Sea.

## Lightning

### (*Cabécar*)

*539 ●821 776 The master or owner of lightning is *labú*. He uses it as a weapon to light up around him. Because of this the word for lightning is the same as to light up: *kapwuphan*.

## The Rain

### (*Cabécar*)

[756] The father and mother of rain are *karpibiké-*

[825] [177] Fly-catcher (*Tyrannidae* Fam.) or the frigate bird (*Fregatidae* Fam.), and the grebe (*Colybidea* Fam.).

[178] *See* Linguistic Texts: *Pkba*.

*539 ●821 776 756 [241] *gra* and *karɣimina*. The medicine man has to talk to them and to *serike* when he wants to make rain or to stop the rain. September is planting time in Talamanca, and that is when the sun is needed so as the cuttings or seeds will not be washed away. It is then that the *jawá* chants:

Let the sun come clean.
Let him raise above the sea.
Send to the north, the south, the east, the west,
Put on his clothes.
Come!
When he puts on good clothes,
The sun looks good;
But when he has on dirty ones
He's not so nice.

To bring rain, the *jawá* chants:

*karɣibikégra, karɣimina*
Come here,
Come rain storm,
To fall here.

### (4) The Rainbow [174]

*(Bribri and Cabécar)*

When *bukubLuse*, the bad spirit (*see* Tabus), smokes his pipe, he lights it with the rainbow. The smoke that comes forth is the north wind.

### (5) The Origin of the Cabécares [175]

*(Cabécar)*

*539 [753] *sibu* kept us in the form of seeds in a *jaba* (basket; *see* Manufactures). The chief of the worms, a greedy fellow, passed and saw us there. He swallowed us. For this reason we have worms.

When *sibu* realized what had happened, he began to think about the kind of medicine to give this creature so that he would vomit up the *jaba* with the seeds. He decided on a mixture of drink knowing that the fellow was so greedy he would not refuse.

There was a little cacao tree and a gourd tree (*Crescentia Cujete* L.) which never bore. *sibu* met the chief of the worms near these

[175] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sejé tsinkineL* = we are born. For version of the Bribri origin myth *see* Pittier, 1903, pp. 2–4; Stone, 1956, p. 193. This last includes another Cabécar account.

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## (7) The Multiplication of Human Beings[180]

### (*Cabécar*)

* 539 There was a number of brothers who had only one sister. She fed them on fish alone. One day they asked her where she caught so many. She answered that their brother-in-law brought them.

The eldest brother wondered who could be his brother-in-law and decided not to leave the house so he could see for himself. Towards evening, he noticed a large jaguar approach his sister's bed. The brother, thinking it was dangerous, wounded the animal with an arrow.

The jaguar roared horribly and rushed out of the house to a lagoon where he jumped in. The sister, seeing her lover in such a condition, abandoned her brothers and followed the jaguar.

The youngest brother mourned the absence of his sister and went to the lagoon to try to reach her. He found, however, that the lagoon had disappeared and there was a road in its stead. He walked and walked along this and finally arrived at a house where his sister was living. He begged her to return home but she refused.

His brother-in-law, the large jaguar, told his wife that he would give the young brother a parrot but that he should leave them in peace. The man took the bird and went home. Once in his own house, the parrot performed all the tasks the sister had done such as cooking, cleaning, and running the house.

## *serike*

### (*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 ● 821 823 *serike* is the son of thunder. His mother left him to live with his uncle by marriage, *tio politico*, and had another son called *cubura*. *serike* lives where the sun sets. He really is five men in one. When the evil spirit, *bák namá*, who dwells in the rivers, gets ready to go on the rampage and cause disaster and death by drowning, the water birds *trak* (*Ceryle Torquata* or the ringed kingfisher) and *tangré* (the Brazilian cormorant *Phalacrocorax b. grasili-*

[825]

[178]

[180] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sɔjersɔ* (people) *jaur* (increase). This is a vestige of a lengthy theological tale, most of which has been forgotten today.

* 539 776 ●821 823 [825] *amus*), friends of *sibu*, warn man. This is when the rivers rise. *sibu* then sends *serike* to hunt for the bad spirit and see if he can save human lives. At times, one of *serike's* helpers is the lightning bolt. He also frightens people who try to harm the Indians. This is why when a storm is brewing, first the water birds appear; next the wind blows; and finally the rivers rise and the current roars.

* 539 776 821 [825] *serike* chases the water-jaguar from one river to another, over mountains and around rocks. *sibu* gave *serike* a staff to help him in his quest. If this staff is placed on a mountain, immediately a chasm forms causing *dínamą* to move on. The cormorant and kingfisher also tell *serike* where they've seen *dínamą*. This is why there are always a few of these birds on the rocks in the rivers.

Whenever *serike* catches a water-jaguar, he takes him to where the sun rises. There he has a large pot into which he puts *dínamą* and cooks and eats him.

*serike* is also the hurricane and master of the winds. His mother was killed by the devil who lives above the Coen River on the other side of the range. When *serike* thinks about his mother's death, he becomes furious and blows up the river on his way to fight the devil. Unfortunately, he blows at everything in his path because he wants to fight. Then it is that one [756] [789] of the friends of *serike*, today the *jawá* (medicine man) but formerly the *usegLa* also, must sing the following song to convince him to stop blowing:

It is not with me
This tree is my fruit
This house is mine
The trees are mine
Go on to fight with others,
This is mine.

[756] [761] Also when there is something making people afraid, or the water-jaguar causes people to drown in a deep pool, the *jawá* talks to *serike* saying, "Uncle *serike*, here is fear. Come and destroy it."

The next day, *serike* blows and chases away fear. He has been known to destroy a bad pool in one or two years so that *dínamą* (*bák namą*) couldn't drown the people.

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### (8) *serike's* MOTHER[181]

(*Bribri*)

* 539 776 *serike's* mother is *itsṓ's* daughter. *serike* himself is eight men in one. *itsṓ* ate his own daughter, *serike's* mother. *serike*, the eight-in-one, wanted to go with a woman. He became angry with his grandfather and went with his family to the place where the world ends for four days. He told his grandfather to wait for him. He then went to his grandmother for four days and returned to look for the grandfather. He put on a feathered headdress and carried away and killed the grandfather. When the wind blows daily in the summer it's a sign that *serike* is mad.

[821]

### How *serike* GOT HIS STAFF

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 The family of *serike* had four long benches on which they sat to play ball. One day while he and his older brothers were playing [182] ball, he threw it too high and it fell into the largest *jaba* (basket) which hung on the roof side. Everyone looked for it without success. Finally *serike* said that he knew where it was and climbed up to the *jaba*.

There he found the ball and a jaw with teeth which said to him, "My son, why are you so careless that you don't know what's happened? I am your mother and you haven't noticed."

"When were you killed? Who did it?" the boy asked.

"It was your uncle who lives in the pool by the cliff."

"My little mother, tell me in what way we can revenge your death," the boy cried.

The jaw with teeth replied saying, "Don't you know that with two chile peppers you can get him. The old man eats chile. Take your hook and bait it with chile and fish out the demon, *bák namú*. Deceive him as he deceived me.

"He deceived me telling me that we were going hunting *dantas* (tapirs) as he knew I like *dantas*. Why I even carried a *jaba* full of peeled and toasted plantains and made a small shelter to sleep in.

"Your uncle sent me with a dog to run a

[181] *See* Linguistic Texts: *tserke amí*.

[776] [182] It should be remembered that *serike* is considered

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*539 *danta*, but when he stationed me where the animal was to pass, I saw footprints and did not realize they were my own. Instead, I followed them. What I found was no *danta*, but *bák namú* waiting and he killed me.

"Then he gave my brother my head and my brother dug out the brains and beat them into a pulp and drank this with the demon, *bák namú*, using my skull as a *jícara*." [188]

The boys fished with a hook and chile but did not get *bák namú*. The jaw with teeth kept telling her son to keep trying to catch his uncle. The boys became sad and refused to talk. The youngest climbed down and said, "Brothers, you are older and play and don't understand what has happened."

He told them and they grew sadder not knowing what to do except to take care of each other.

When they were most desperate, a man appeared and asked them why they were so sad and what had happened. The youngest, who was also the bravest, spoke up, "Señor, you do not know what has happened to us. Our uncle is to blame. He sold our mother to the demon."

The man replied, "Don't worry. Stop being sad. I can fix things. Just tell me all you know of what happened."

They told him and he gave the youngest a little golden staff made from his umbilical cord which would conquer any demon. The man further cautioned the boy to put the staff on his feet but not let it touch the ground.

Then they went to the pool by the big cliff and the man said, "Try it and make a sign to see if it works."

The boy made a movement and the cliff parted in half drying up the river and permitting the group to pass to the other side.

The man said, "Yes, you can be very powerful with the power I have given you. You can dominate anything. No beast can be more mighty than you. Continue and conquer the most fearful with this power I have given you."

The youngest one kept the power. He went to kill *bák namú* and his uncle, *aroromɔsa*. He slew the demon but left his uncle because when *aroromɔsa* smokes cigars there is a breeze.

• [521]

[776]
416
[824]

as five or eight men together.

[188] Gourd used for drinking *Crescentia Cujete* L.

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* 539 776 823 [761] really happens to them is that they are eaten by the water-jaguar.

*oLobəsią* becomes aware that *dinamą́* has gone by him to catch men when he notes that the rivers are flooded and wind storms strike. Then he sends one of his subalterns to capture him. This person usually is *serike*. *serike* follows the water-jaguar all over until finally this evil animal hides under the mountain ranges and refuses to come out. At this point *bukubLə* appears to aid *serike* and together they route out the water-jaguar and take him to *oLobəsią*. This personage is delighted and eats the water-jaguar.

### (10) *serike* AND *dinamą́*

### (*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 823 ● 821 [731] The river flows downward and reaches the mouth where *oLobəsią*[186] stays to support the water. *dinamą́* passes here and eats us when the river is in flood. When there is a bad flood, it carries people away and *dinamą́* eats them.

Then *serike* in the form of a hurricane comes to take him away, hiding him beneath a hill. From here, hurricane carries him to *oLobəsią* to eat.

When hurricane *serike* comes, he arrives with wind and rain, and the river rises. He goes to the King of the Wind to fight because this king carried off his mother to have as a wife.[187] When this happened, hurricane was a child. He did not see his mother carried away. He grew up and learned that his mother had been swallowed. Then the King of the Wind sold everything. This is why hurricane takes everything he finds. He takes the devil to *oLobəsią* for him to eat. When the earth makes a noise, this is *oLobəsią*.

### (11) THE MYTH OF *óknamą́te*[188]

### (*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 823 761 *óknamą́* is a spirit who protects men. He lives where the rivers meet the sea (at the river's mouth). Pregnant women, however,

[186] *oLo* is buzzard in Cabécar. *sią́* are the sacred stones of the medicine men.

[187] Compare this with "How *serike* got his staff."

[188] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ók-namą́-te* (jaguar he). Also see The Myth of the Water-Jaguar and *onombrasẽn*, and Linguistic Texts: *di-namą́*.

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* 539 said the monkey, and he shouted with such force that he scared even himself.

825 The jaguar tried to do the same but he couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a powerful creature like the jaguar would also have a tremendously loud voice, every animal and person in the world would be afraid of him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller monkey who lived in the trees could make a loud noise. *sibu*, however, would not let the monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom and eat up without touching it with his hands.

• [821] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

## *RECREATION*

517 **Visits.** People are not in the habit of visiting
521 for the sake of chatting or exchanging news. In the large houses, each family group of women and older children relaxes by the individual fire, squatting on low benches and talking in almost inaudible voices. The men lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men
[538] and women often tell theological or lay "his-
[184] tories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the Pacific side, the same general pattern is followed although both men and women are seen talking on the long low benches or on logs more often than in hammocks. Conversation
521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Reunions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often,
[184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks with the men. Women among themselves talk of children or household chores. There is little
[888] interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to
131 as *kéké*, a term of great respect. Occasionally, presents of a piece of game are made to a neighboring household, especially on the Pacific side.

574 Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from
484 one side of the range. He or rather they, as these people do not undertake a trip alone,
[576] pause at the door of a house and wait for permission to enter. It depends upon their social importance how much and what kind

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

*** *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

warns when it is going to rain by howling in the morning and in the afternoon.

### (17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[202]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

## *RECREATION*

of food and drink will be offered them. Conversation, in this case, is confined almost entirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

Women and young girls of the same family, particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

| *bé* | *rər* | *webLa* | *suLue* | *es* | *bérua* | *bəmitsɛn.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| you | are | man | bad | like | devil | take (carry off). |

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəpé* which is a very strong term.

**Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian

[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *Iipo* (coyeo).